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CHAPTER II

THE MATERIAL CULTURE

The material culture of Tepoztlán, in contrast to the non-material culture, preserves unmodified a large number of pre-Columbian traits.[1] The small number of the conquerors brought with them no great economic system with which to displace that already in operation among the Indians. The Mexican village did not, even before the Conquest, make all its own tools; villages specialized then, as now, in the manufacture of a few useful articles and imported the rest from other manufacturing centers.

With the exception of ironworking, which soon made obsolete the Indian techniques in stone, bone, shell, and copper, most of the elements contributed to the material culture by the Spaniards supplement rather than supplant technical systems of the Indians. Pre-Columbian patterns persist especially in the house, in house furnishings, and in cookery. Here there are many contributions from European culture, but these remain of secondary importance. The old techniques survive also in transportation, but there the post-

[1] Bandelier gave us a short account (A. F. Bandelier, *Report of an Archaeological Tour in Mexico in 1881*, "Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series" [Boston, 1884], II, 95–99, 120–52) of the material culture of Cholula in the state of Puebla, and Starr (Frederick Starr, *Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, reprinted from Vols. VIII and IX, *Proceedings of Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences*, Davenport, Iowa, 1900) has scattered notes on the material culture of many villages in Southern Mexico.

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534 Tepoztlán. The small flageolet (S. *chirimía*), which
[796] together with a small drum of European pattern is played on the roof of the church or chapel to signalize every sacred *fiesta*, as were once played on the *teocalli* the *tlapitsali*, *huehuetl*, and *teponaztli*, is carved out of
[177] *zopilote* wood and is a modification of the ancient pattern under Spanish influence. In Nahuatl discourse it bears the ancient name *tlapitsali*.

177 Local industries are few and almost all are Euro-
438 pean in character. *Adobe* bricks are made by anyone
[333] who builds a new house or repairs an old one; the simple technique is probably chiefly aboriginal. The
[283] twisting of ropes of maguey fiber is a domestic industry confined to a limited group of houses. This technique is European; a wooden wheel is used. The lime-burning done at the neighboring hamlet of San Andres is likewise European. Carpentering, ironwork-
[463] ing, masonry, woodcarving, silverwork, shoemaking, and breadmaking are all in the hands of specialists; in each case the tools and techniques are European—the early priests were good teachers and the Indians good pupils.

286 Mena[1] declares that *zarapes* are made in Tepoztlán of tree cotton, but other evidence of such manufacture is lacking. A large loom has recently been introduced by an educated young man for the weaving of shawls. The use of tree cotton (N. *cuahichcatl*) is,
283 however, well understood, and occasionally thread is spun thereof by the use of pre-Columbian spindle

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 382.

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184 137 342 Therefore the flora is different; and furthermore the soil is not suitable for *adobe*, so that most of the houses are of cane, straw, or wattle.

438 Differences in altitude and in aridity produce differences in the sorts of natural products of these eight villages; thus it comes about that villages have agricultural and economic specialties. San Juanico furnishes *tejocotes* (*manzanillas*), and a variety of medicinal herbs which grow only at a high altitude. San Andres, situated on a limestone ridge, contributes the lime, burned in its kilns, in which all maize is cooked. Santiago is a warmer and better-watered village than the others, and its inhabitants supply tomatoes, sugar cane, and sapotes. The people of Ixcatepec specialize in honey, and those of arid Santa Catarina often bring acacia pods (S. *guajes*; N. *huexi*).

443 This economic specialization facilitates exchange at the bi-weekly market. Every Wednesday and every Sunday morning fifty to a hundred vendors gather in the central *plaza* of Tepoztlán. Some of these are from Tepoztlán itself, some from the tributary hamlets, and a few from villages outside the community. The merchant simply squats on his heels on the *plaza*, or under the *portales* in front of the permanent shops, or he may sit on a stone, displaying his wares in little piles. For the privilege of occupying such a space the municipal government exacts a "floor tax" (*derecho de piso*). The positions taken by the merchants do not vary substantially from week to week, nor, indeed, from generation to generation; those from each sur-

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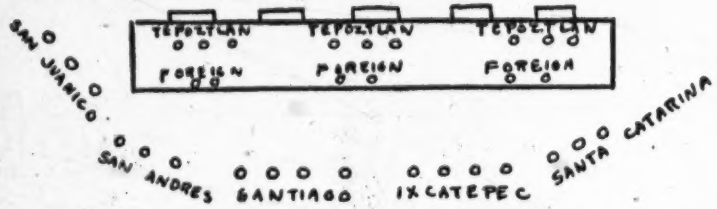
rounding hamlet sit always together, and always in the same absolute and relative position. The merchants come by villages, and sit by villages; and the differences between them are further emphasized by the fact that the products they sell are largely different, as one village group is compared with another. There is thus the following permanent market pattern:



Amatlán also has an economic specialty: the making of beds of cane;[1] but Amatlán and Santo Domingo, as has already been stated, are less firmly associated with the rest of the valley community, and their inhabitants do not regularly bring goods to sell at the market.

Differences between the villages are not limited to those brought about by geographic factors. The stability of populations, even within the small confines of this natural community, and the local nature of traditional loyalties, have made it possible for other cultural distinctions to survive. Outside of the Tepoztlán community, such differences are, of course, more marked. Yautepec is no more than fifteen miles away, but a native of Tepoztlán may tell a traveler coming

[1] Not verified by personal observation.

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be expended on the *fiesta* to maintain the *barrio* prestige. The organizations which support the carnival, a secular *fiesta*, are creations of three of these *barrios*. These three *comparsas* (groups of men organizing masked "leaping") strive each to make a better show, offer a larger orchestra than do the others, and as a consequence disputes not infrequently arise.[1]

It is not too much to say that the members of a *barrio* tend to think and act alike. In very large measure this is because of the unifying and centralizing influence of the chapel and its *santo*, with the attendant co-operative work and play. A group of men of the *barrio* together prepare the *milpa* of the *santo* for sowing, together hoe the growing maize, together gather the harvest. A group of women of the *barrio* together prepare the food for the men so employed in the fields. In the former cases the work is done under the direction of the steward (*mayordomo*) of the *santo*. His wife, or the principal woman of his household, organizes the cooking of *tortillas*, beans, and meat.

In some instances there are economic factors which enforce this collective sentiment. Thus, what charcoal is burned in Tepoztlán is nearly all burned in San Pedro, and, to a less extent, in Los Reyes. The members of these *barrios*, in cutting, hauling, and burning

[1] During the year of the writer's stay trouble between Santo Domingo and San Miguel was only averted by an arrangement that the two *comparsas* were to "leap" on different days. As has been pointed out, the competitive spirit does not prevent *mayordomos* of *barrios* and villages from co-operating for important *fiestas*.

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wood, are drawn together by their common occupation. More marked is the part played by the twisting of ropes of maguey fiber among the inhabitants of San Sebastian. This industry, introduced a generation ago by an emigrant to Tepoztlán, has spread to few houses outside of the *barrio* in which he settled; but in San Sebastian almost every household is so occupied, and when there is an important fair in some larger town in the state, the men of San Sebastian will go there almost in a body to market their lassos and *riatas*.

The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cultures, or, what is the same thing, different personalities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are recognized by the Tepoztecos themselves, and at least the more reflective of them can express the differences they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized *barrio*, and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly conscious of national feeling). Their chapel is decorated with Mexican flags; a modern orchestra was organized here, etc. Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catholic, exclusive, and independent—"Santa Cruz governs itself like a little republic." San Pedro is a *barrio* of poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked extent ancient mentality and resent the presence of outsiders in their midst, etc.

The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*. These names are in Nahuatl and are in every case the names of animals. The names are:

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is more expensive, but to the fact that a woman's status (except among the few sophisticated) is determined in no small degree by her skill and industry at the grinding-stone. She takes pride in her grinding. Differences in skill are tasted in the finished *tortilla*; men even claim to identify the grinding of their wives in the *tortilla* they eat. A woman known to be incompetent or negligent at the *metate* is not a desirable wife.[1] One of the diseases recognized in Tepoztlán is *tlancuatlatzihuiztli*, "laziness of the knees." The swelling of the knees which signalizes this affliction is due, not to too much grinding, but to too little; it is thus shown that the sufferer has neglected her work. A woman grinds two or three times a day. On ordinary days the grinding for an average household requires about six hours. But if the men of the household are to go away to work on some distant *hacienda* where, nevertheless, they must feed themselves, the women may be up much of the night grinding the maize for the *itacates* and *clacloyos* which they will take along. And before a *fiesta* the entire night may be spent in grinding for the festal dishes, not only maize for the *tamales*, but also squash seeds and *pitos*.

With grinding, cooking, occasional sewing, a little caring for the children, and finally marketing, the list of practical activities of the woman is about exhausted. Marketing is done every day. Salt, *chiles*, sugar,

[1] Frederick Starr (*Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 35) says that among the Tlaxcalans a bride before marriage passes through a formal ordeal before the women of the neighborhood. This is called *temaitalizli*, "trying the hand." She is required to grind and to make *tortillas*.

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and spices, as well as candles, alcohol, and kerosene, are rarely bought in quantities; the supply is replenished almost every day. The storekeepers make up little screws of salt and of sugar, to meet the customary demand of purchases worth one or a few *centavos*. Coming to the stores, and especially to the bi-weekly market, the women from all parts of the village meet to enjoy gossip and the satisfying ritual of bargaining for a price. This is a social opportunity confined to the women; a man may make an occasional personal purchase, but never buy the household supplies.

Between the short rhythm of the day and the long rhythm of the year falls the intermediate cycle of the week. Although in places a subdivision of the lunation, this period is everywhere more artificial than the others. In Tepoztlán the week has resulted from an adjustment of the Aztec market days to the European calendar, and from the introduction of the Christian Sabbath. Each of the eighteen Aztec "months" of twenty days was divided into quarters; on every fifth day adult men were required to attend the market (*tianquiztli*). These market days were also celebrated by games and festivals; they were a sort of compulsory holiday. Such regulations merely placed a legal sanction on a system of exchange of goods among the Aztec communities which had grown up to bind hundreds of Indian *pueblos* into economic interdependence.

No doubt the system of alternating market days in the valleys of northern Morelos preserves substantial-

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ly the pre-Columbian economic pattern. Only now the market days fall on days of the European week rather than on fixed days in the Aztec *tonalamatl*. In Tepoztlán, markets are held on Wednesday and Sunday. Larger towns have daily markets, with special days for more important gatherings. In Cuernavaca, these days are Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday; in Cuautla, Friday is an important day; in Yautepec, one such day is Monday. Thus those who live by trade can make the rounds of the markets. A vendor of pottery in Tepoztlán on Wednesday goes regularly to Cuernavaca on Thursday. There he buys more pottery to sell on Friday in Cuautla. On Saturday he is back in Cuernavaca, where he buys fruit. On Sunday or Monday he is in Toluca where he sells his fruit and buys Toluca pottery. This he offers on Tuesday in Cuernavaca, and on Wednesday he is again selling Cuernavaca pottery and what is left of his Toluca ware in Tepoztlán.

Mexican towns are essentially markets; characteristically the only industry is household industry, and agriculture usually accomplishes little more than the support of the community. Everywhere the *plaza* dominates the town; the only large buildings are there; it is the center of social life. Even in unimportant towns like Tepoztlán the two market days break the week into two periods of lull separated by two days of special interest and attention. On these days the Tepoztecans come to the *plaza* to exchange not only goods but information. Besides the regular

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merchants of Tepoztlán and of the satellite villages there come regularly textile sellers from Mexico City and pottery vendors from Cuernavaca, as well as occasional wandering merchants from other and more distant towns.[1] The market day is also a news day.

The importance of Sunday probably varies directly in proportion to the degree to which the individual has taken on city ways. It is not an Indian institution, and in busy season at least *los tontos* do not observe it as a day of rest. But characteristically all classes put on their best clothes on Sunday. When the priest is there the more Catholic may attend mass in the *Templo Mayor*. Sometimes, the "new orchestra" may play in the little bandstand in the *plaza*. Such sophisticated refinements are promoted by the more city-wise minority—*los correctos*.

Like all the simpler peoples, whose food and whose occupations are directly dependent upon seasonal changes, the Tepoztecans are closely attentive to the

[1] There follows a list, not quite complete, of goods sold in the regular bi-weekly markets. Of course the limitation "in season" applies to many of the fruits: (1) Produced in Tepoztlán or the satellite villages: oranges; bananas; *chayotes; manzanillos* (*tejocotes*); limes; lemons (rare); avocados; plums; chirimoyas; mameys; sapotes (four or five kinds); tomatoes; husk tomatoes; sugar cane; *pitos;* acacia pods (*guajes*, N. *guaxi*); peanuts; tamarind beans; coffee; squash seeds; acacia seeds; beans (several kinds); maize; coriander; *manzanillo* jelly; clotted cream; honey; pine kindling; lime; eggs; medicinal herbs. (2) Produced outside the valley: potatoes, onions, and rarely other vegetables, from Cuernavaca; occasional vegetables, as beets, carrots, lettuce, rosemary, small squashes, from Xochimilco, Federal District; pottery from Cuernavaca, from Toluca, and from the state of Puebla; baskets from southern Morelos; leather thongs for sandals and fiber nets (*ayates*) from Cuautla; zarapes and mats, from Toluca and elsewhere; lima beans and such spices as *pimienta*, cloves, and cumin seed, from Mexico City; textiles and notions from Mexico City. Other supplies, and also some that are on these lists, are bought in the stores.

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tepach arrives from the *tierra fría*. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding, for the burden of hospitality is a heavy one, resting on so few households.

Sunday, January 24 (about).—The celebration of the *fiesta* of San Sebastian occurs on this day. People come from other *barrios* and other villages. There are some who come to sell candies and cakes. Women bring candles and flowers to the *santo*. *Los Apaches* of San Juan should come to dance.[1] In the afternoon a *castillo del día* is set off. Everyone in the *barrio* eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

Monday, January 25 (about).—The *chirimía*, playing in San Sebastian, announces the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* for that *fiesta*. In the afternoon there are *toros*. Los Reyes lends its *corral* and San Miguel its bulls; the same men take part, so that the *toros* of San Sebastian are a repetition of the *toros* of Los Reyes.

Tuesday, January 26 (about).—This is the second day of the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa*. In the afternoon a group of men gather at the chapel of San Sebastian. Some are masked with burlap and wear any bizarre rags; some are dressed as women; and some, *los Chinelos*, wear long satin gowns, huge hats, and bearded masks. When all are ready, the "old musicians" begin to play the air traditionally used for "leaping" (*brincar*) and the masked men begin to move toward the plaza, jumping up and down with the high, short, prancing step prescribed by custom.

[1] The year of this study they failed to fulfil their obligation.

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527 535 are sewing them new gowns, or refurbishing the old ones. The members of that family, whose traditional [532] task it is to make the masks worn by the *Chinelos*, are busy cleaning and curling horsehair and fastening it to the wire frames.

527 443 438 439 Many who will not leap as *Chinelos* are preparing to sell homemade cakes in booths. Others are arranging to bring some pulque down from the plateau, some to go to Cuernavaca for ice to make flavored ices, some to cook *pozole* in great *ollas* in the *plaza*. Some are buying combs and beads and handkerchiefs in Mexico City to sell at the carnival. The carnival is the supreme economic effort of Tepoztlán; it is an opportunity to make money and to spend it.

527 *February 28, March 1 and 2 (about).*—The carnival is celebrated during the two week-ends preceding Lent. There are six days of carnival: Saturday, Sunday, and Monday of the first week-end, and the corresponding three days a week later (the *octava*). During these days there are covered booths on two sides [265] [541] of the *plaza* with benches and tables where ices and bottled drinks are sold. In the morning there are cockfights in the *plaza*.

527 535 At just three o'clock in the afternoon a gunpowder mortar is discharged at the house of the president of the *comparsa* where the *Chinelos* are gathered. At this [533] signal the band, which each *comparsa* has hired, begins to play the "leaping" music (the drum accenting very markedly the first of each triplet).

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paper rosettes, wax flowers, and garlands of *chicaltzo*. People come into the church to light a candle at the altar and to hang a garland on it. Just outside the church under the *enramada* stand two rows of little girls, dressed in white with white crowns and bearing staffs adorned with bells and ribbons. They are *Las Pastoras*, and they strike their staffs on the flags and sing a traditional song of praise to El Señor de Ixcatepec.

In a wide circle at one side of the *enramada*, *Los Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago dance to their armadillo-shell guitars. At intervals they sing a song to *La Guadalupana*. There is the rattle of a small drum and the high note of a metal flute. *Los Moros* from Santo Domingo enter the churchyard gate. They come doing their little skipping step, to suggest men on horseback. The five Moors, with their helmets, flounced skirts, and black goggles, and the four Christians, in plumed hats and short skirts, weave back and forth in a double row, clashing *machetes* as they come. On the other side of the *enramada* they perform the acted and spoken drama of the struggle between the Moors and the Christians. This takes about five hours. Crowds of people watch them, and other crowds watch *Los Apaches* and *Las Pastoras*.

The sacred entertainment takes place within the churchyard; the secular entertainment is going on outside. There are several ballad-singers, each with his guitar and his attentive audience. Other men are gambling, squatted around the board. There are rows

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of booths at which are being sold fruit, cakes, notions, ices, drinks, green corn.[1] People have come from distant *pueblos* to sell the products of their domestic industry—little painted clay toys and whistles. At the gateway to the churchyard one may buy wax candles for the *santo*.

The *chirimía* is playing at the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo;* this is set off the evening of the first day.

May 9–15.—The remainder of the week is devoted to secular entertainment: cockfights, horse races, and three days of *toros*.

June 11.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of La Santísima and with it plays the *teponaztli* owned by that *barrio*.

June 12.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of La Santísima. It is not an important *fiesta*. The people of the *barrio* eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

Now the rains have come. Every afternoon the clouds gather over the rim of the valley and the hills are hidden in a low roof of mist. The slopes run with cascades and jets of rain. The air is wet and soft. The ground, long dry and barren, is covered with bright green, and every cranny in the rocks has its unrolling fern.

The rains are brought by the *ahuahque*,[2] "the lords of the rain." They hurl the thunderbolts; the stone beads and spindle whorls one picks up were thrown by

[1] Brought from lower altitudes where it is already ripe.

[2] The *ahuahque* are also referred to as *tlatlatcuapone*, "those who thunder," and as *tlapetani*, "those who cause lightning."

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the removal of the grain is done separately in each individual house, each member of the family taking a hand.

December 7.—The *chirimía* plays on the Templo Mayor; this, with the ringing of the bells, announces that tomorrow will be the *fiesta* of La Virgen Purísima.

December 8.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of La Virgen Purísima. The *chirimía* plays again. At dawn rockets are set off in the churchyard. This is not an important *fiesta*. There are special masses when the priest is there. In the afternoon mothers bring their little girls, dressed in white as for a confirmation, with white crowns on their hair, to the Templo Mayor. Each child offers a bouquet of flowers to the Virgin.[1]

December 11.—The *chirimía* plays again.

December 12.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. The usual *chirimía*, bells, and rockets celebrate the *fiesta*. This is not an important *fiesta* in Tepoztlán, although the Virgin of Guadalupe is the patron of the Indians of Mexico. Some from Tepoztlán go to the great celebration at Guadalupe.

The attention of the community is focused on the harvest. Almost every man is working in the fields. The carpenter neglects his bench, the iron worker his forge. The corn factors have arranged counters in the doors of their houses. There they receive the corn as it is brought them, measuring it out in small wooden

[1] They do this again in May (the *mes de María*); and in June little boys bring flowers to the *Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*.

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243 438 435 scoops, paying perhaps eight or nine *centavos* a *cuartillo*.

By the third week in December the fields below the 221 town are still and empty. The last loads carried by 244 the *burros* are of round green squashes, grown among 231 the corn. Into some fields the cattle are turned to forage. Above the town, where the fields ripen later, the harvesting continues, but the work is on the wane. *796 There is time to rest now, and enjoy the Christmas 177 *fiestas*. Preparations are under way. In many houses, particularly in those nearest the *plaza*, where Spanish influence is strongest and where there may be a little money to spend, the nine *posadas* are celebrated as they are celebrated all over Mexico. By this time the matrons of the neighborhood have arranged in whose house will take place each of the nine *fiestas*. Nine women will take turns as hostess, dividing the responsibility and the expense. Someone has gone to 487 Oacalco for sugar cane, to Yautepec for peanuts. The 484 women are making little paper baskets (*alcartazes*) to hold candies and peanuts.

868 It is not in one of the larger houses near the *plaza* 533 that boys are learning to sing the songs of *Los Pastores*. In the yard of a smaller, more Indian house in some street off the *plaza* a score or more of boys are seated on the ground learning the songs from a *maestro* who is the repository of this local tradition.

794 The *mayordomos*, with their assistants, decorate the 782 chapels with flowers and cedar boughs and colored 439 tissue paper. People cut branches of poinsettia, now

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into the yard; there is no procession now; people talk and laugh. A pottery jar, an *olla*, hung with tissue-paper streamers, is suspended about seven feet from the ground. This is the *piñata*. The smallest children, blindfolded, are first given a chance to break the *piñata* with a stick. They are turned about to confuse their sense of direction. Too good an aim is at first discouraged; a proper climax must be reached. When at last the jar is broken the children scramble in the dust for the scattered candies.

December 16–24.—The festal feeling grows during the nine nights of the *posadas*. The few gasoline street lamps, purchased by some of the neighborhoods, usually left dark, are burning in the street corners. More people are in the streets now after nightfall. The fireworks-makers are busy, selling the rockets they have been making for the *fiestas*. Every evening, in half-a-dozen places in the village, sheaves of light burst suddenly into the night. Some of the chapels are open; women come to pray or to light another candle. In the chapel of La Santísima, and perhaps in that of Santa Cruz, two *barrios* where Catholic religious ritual is most likely to be observed, there are *posadas* which the *mayordomo* of the *santo* has arranged. Then the procession moves slowly around the churchyard to the "old music." Mary and Joseph seek a lodging at the door of the chapel; admitted, the effigies are carried up to the altar. The prayers are said, and, as elsewhere, when the *piñata* song is sung, men who have been waiting outside the churchyard come in. The

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prayers give way to play; the temple becomes the scene of a party. 796*

December 23.—Pilgrims pass through Tepoztlán on their way to the shrine at Chalma. They carry staffs surmounted by the cross, or baskets of food; some bear flutes and drums. Some sing *alabados* ("chants of praise") as they go. They pause in houses along their road to rest and gossip. At midnight a few from Tepoztlán take the road for Chalma. 788 796* 533

December 24.—This is *la Noche Buena*. In the morning women come to the market place to sell *tetzmixochitl*. There are two kinds, red[1] and yellow.[2] This is the only day in the year when these flowers are sold. They are used to prepare the altar at which at midnight the newborn Christ—a small doll—is put to bed. He is the "child God" (*el niño Dios*), "the divine child" (*teopiltzintli*). Girls and women buy these flowers; with these and cedar boughs the shrine is made. At night, after the last *posada*, people do not go to bed. There are lights in many houses; the chapels remain open. At midnight, in some homes and chapels, the Christ child is laid in his cradle behind the candles lit to him. The women kneel and sing the traditional lullaby.[3] 796* 438 824 782 533 796*

Before midnight people are out in the streets, waiting for *Los Pastores*. The festal feeling has accumulated; everyone is intent on the midnight ceremonies.

[1] *Sedum dendroicum* Moc. and Sessi.

[2] *Sedum sp.*

[3] Printed in *Mexican Folkways*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Dec.–Jan., 1926).

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Two teachers, a young man and a young woman: Both are natives, of distinctly *correcto* families, and both were educated in the city. Both wear city clothes all the time and have no other specialty but teaching.

The priest should be mentioned, although during the period of investigation there was no priest officiating in Tepoztlán, as there was not elsewhere in Mexico. He was a man of *correcto* family, well educated in the city.

Five storekeepers: These are men of some capital. They have small shops on the *plaza*. On the whole they devote their time to trade. Each makes frequent trips to Mexico City to buy goods. Most become tradespeople on a small scale or minor commercial employees in Mexico City during the revolution; it does not appear that any one of them inherited the business. Besides these five storekeepers there are two young men who flavor and charge water and bottle the result for local sale. These men have considerable communication with the city.

Two corn-factors: These men buy the locally produced surplus maize, arrange for its shipment to Mexico City, and there sell it wholesale.

Three butchers: Their shops are on the *plaza*. The meat is butchered locally.

Two shoemakers: One, a cripple, learned his trade from an earlier shoemaker in Tepoztlán; the other learned it in Mexico City.

Three carpenters: One man has a shop on the *plaza;* the others work in their homes. Tools are simple and few, all of European pattern. These men make furniture, doors, and candlesticks for the churches, also coffins and saddles. Information is lacking as to where each learned his trade.

Four masons: These men lay brick floors, and build walls and water tanks, occasional columns and porticoes on the better

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zations are formed which assume a public function. A band of musicians of San Andres are frequently called upon to play at funerals or weddings. During 1927 "the new orchestra" was organized at Tepoztlán. This was composed of young men, mostly *correctos*, who played "modern" pieces, on Sundays or holidays, to entertain the townspeople. The "old orchestra" is a musical organization of quite another sort. This is composed of four older men who know the traditional music used for the *posadas* and for certain of the religious dances. They play chiefly ritual music, not current compositions. Funeral music is of an intermediate type; the "old orchestra" plays at funerals too. The *chirimiteros* are not regarded as musicians; they will be referred to later.

With the musicians this list grades off into specialties that are so casual, so little differentiated, so easily taken on and put off, that it is difficult to name the specialists. Such are the *arrieros*, the men who own mules or horses and haul goods from the railway to the town, chiefly for the merchants; the charcoal-burners and woodcutters; the men who keep and milk cows and the women who sell the milk; and the women who sell *camotes*. Anyone may engage in these occupations occasionally; a few devote themselves to one or another.

There are likewise a considerable number of persons who stand ready to supply some special need, although the fulfilling of this function plays a very minor rôle in their lives. One woman keeps *metates*, bought in some city and held for resale; several keep a stock of herbs; one of the shoemakers keeps a few commercial drugs. A casual acquaintance of the town gives an impression of very little differentiation, but closer familiarity shows that in any need, even an un-

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463 usual need, there is always someone who is expected
[439] to step into a special rôle and exercise a special function for that crisis.

In general, the specialists of the sorts just listed are
[565] *correctos*. But there are other specialists that seem to fall into another class, to represent a different type of specialization of function. The specialists of this second class are, in the main, *tontos*. These are:

[759] Thirteen [perhaps more] herb-doctors [S. *curanderas;* N. *tepahtiani*]: With one exception, a man up in Los Reyes, these are women. They have a command of the folk knowledge of medicine. They are called upon in sicknesses of any seriousness. A large part of their technique is the preparation and administering of herbal remedies.[1]

[759] [844] Ten [perhaps more] midwives [S. *partera;* N. *amantecatl*]: These are always women. There is no case in the materials of a midwife who is also an herb-doctor. The specialties are quite distinct.[2] They are called in to attend all births. Their technique has been described in the preceding chapters.

[533] Three *chirimiteros:* These men play the traditional strain of music on the roofs of chapels and in the yards of the *mayordomos* at *fiestas* celebrating *santos*. None of them are young men. The act is entirely ritualistic. There is no pay but food and drink. Most *chirimiteros* carve their own *chirimias* out of *zopilote* wood. This is also a special technique.

[794] Two [or three?] *huehuechihque:* These are men who know the traditional words used in summoning people to pay their contribution for the *santos*, and those used in thanking them when

[1] In asking if a woman sets herself up as an herb-doctor, the phrase is *Sabe hervir?* ("Does she know how to boil?")

[2] There is also some evidence that some *curanderas* specialize in certain diseases.

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[p80]

4 *economics: general aspect and historical background:*

433 THE CONTEMPORARY economy of Tepoztlán is essentially a household economy of small producers, peasants, artisans, and merchants, whose primary motive for production is subsistence. But it is not a self-sufficient economy and probably was not even in pre-Conquest days. The Tepoztecan economy today forms part of the larger national economy of Mexico and, to a more limited degree, of the world [435] economy. The price of corn, the most important local product, is as much determined by international markets as by local conditions of supply and demand. [439] Tepoztlán depends heavily on trade with the outside for basic elements of diet, such as salt, sugar, and chile, which are obtained from nearby regions, and for sewing machines, patent medicines, pool tables, water pipes, steel plows, and buses which are obtained from more distant urban centers. Tepoztlán has few handi- [438] crafts, there is no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Household utensils, cloth, baskets, and many other items are obtained by purchase.

From the point of view of agriculture, the basic source of livelihood, the resources of Tepoztlán are poor indeed. As we have seen, only about fifteen per cent of the total land area of the municipio is cultivable by plow and oxen. Furthermore, there is no irrigation, which means only one harvest a year. The village could not support itself by farming alone. Tepoztecans therefore seek other sources of in- [434] come, and are busy doing a variety of jobs during different parts of the year. Some work on nearby plantations, others engage in trade, make rope, produce charcoal, raise livestock, or have some other part-time activity. But with all of this the fundamental problem for most Tepoztecans is that of subsistence.

The Tepoztecan economy, though that of a peasant society, is neither simple nor primitive. It has many qualities well known to the student of rural society in western civilization. Among the more important are well-developed concepts of private property; a high degree of individualism; a free market; the definition of wealth in terms of land, cattle, and other forms of property; a relatively wide range in wealth differences; the use of money; a highly developed system of marketing and trade, interest on capital, work for wages, pawning of property, renting of land, and the use of plow-oxen; and specialization in part-time occupations.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

for there are employers and employees within the specialties. Thus, a part-time carpenter may employ two assistants during the busy season in his trade. In this connection it should be noted that the numbers of occupations shown in Table 19 refer to both artisans and their day laborers.

The changes in occupation and specialization can best be appreciated by a comparison of our data with that given by Redfield for 1926. A complete comparison is not always possible because some of the occupations in Tepoztlán are new and others, though mentioned by Redfield, were not given in numbers. Table 19 lists the occupations and numbers of persons employed in 1926 as compared with 1944. Also included are the number who belong to families with milpas in *ejido*, private holdings or *tlacolol*, to indicate those who have other sources of income. Finally, I have listed the number who work in their fields, in addition to their trade, to determine the degree of specialization.

An examination of Table 19 indicates at once the magnitude of the changes in occupations. Considering first only those occupations for which there is comparable data, we find that there has been an increase from 69 to 187 individuals who work in the various occupations. This represents an increase of 161 per cent as compared with a population increase during this period of approximately 45 per cent.[4] Comparing the number of individuals engaged in special occupations in 1926 with the number today, we find an increase from 69 to 273. This represents an increase of over 290 per cent.

The difference between these two figures is in a sense a measure of the degree of acculturation and the rise in the standard of living. The sharp rise in the number of storekeepers, teachers, butchers, bakers, and masons bears out this statement. In contrast to the small number of stores (five), which existed in Redfield's time, all of which were in the plaza, there are now twenty stores, ten in the plaza and ten distributed among the barrios. The spread of stores to the barrios reflects the general tendency in the village, whereby the outlying barrios are becoming incorporated into the life of the center.

The stores have not only increased in number; they also carry a much wider variety of goods than twenty years ago. Formerly one had to go to Yautepec or Cuernavaca to buy sombreros, cloth, or pants. Now these items and many others are available in the village. The increase in the number of bakers from six to twenty-four attests to the widespread use of bread as a supplement to the tortilla. (See Fig. 17.) Even the poorest family looks forward to eating rolls at least a few times during the week. The figures on the increase of shoemakers from two to five do not adequately reveal the increase in the number of individuals who own shoes. According to the census of 1940, more than three hundred wore shoes daily. However, shoes are given little wear and are used primarily on Sundays and days of fiesta.

[4] This estimate is conservative, for as has already been indicated, there must have been fewer than 69 individuals with special occupations in 1926.

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The *curanderos*, on the other hand, are prejudicial to the health of the people and are a definite impediment to the realization of national health programs. In view of our brief example, no blanket statements can be made; each institution must be examined in the light of its social function in the community.

The new occupations in Tepoztlán consist of the millers, chauffeurs, bus line

Fig. 19. A corn mill.

employees, tile and brickmakers, and druggists.[9] In all there are 41 individuals who work in these occupations. All the men who work for the bus cooperatives are members or sons of members of the cooperatives. Such membership is a prerequisite for employment. Tile and brickmaking are technically not new occupations, since these trades were practiced on a small scale prior to the Revolution. During the years of the Revolution and the hard times which immediately followed, the trade lapsed. In 1934 it was revived and now is growing steadily. The tile and brick makers produce only for the needs of the village.

[9] The ropemakers and charcoal makers listed in Table 19 are occupations of long standing and were mentioned by Redfield, although an accurate comparison of the expansion in these occupations cannot be given here because Redfield did not state the number in 1926.

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241 423 [178] land and *ejido*. Most of the families who either owned private land or held *ejido* or both and who also worked *tlacolol* had turned to *tlacolol* because their holdings were too small to support their families. But there is a trend among even the better-to-do families to turn back to *tlacolol;* for example, twelve of the twenty families who owned private land, held an *ejido* grant, and worked *tlacolol*, were among the large landowners.

SIZE OF CLEARINGS

Most *tlacolol* clearings are small, averaging between eight and twelve *cuartillos* of seed. The largest *tlacolol* operator in the village plants only thirty-five *cuartillos*. As we shall see, the great amount of labor necessary for clearing *tlacolol* land is the most important limiting factor in the size of clearings used. A related factor, however, is the growing shortage of land which has sufficiently grown back into forest after earlier clearings. Furthermore, *tlacolol* is definitely viewed as subsistence [626] agriculture, and any man who cleared inordinately large areas, even if he could, would incur the wrath of the other villagers.

TOOLS OF PRODUCTION

241 412 Plow and oxen are ruled out in *tlacolol* because of the nature of the terrain. In *texcal* the large volcanic rocks lie around helter skelter, so that it is difficult for a man even to walk. Similarly the steep slopes of the *cerros*, and the lime outcroppings make the plow and oxen impractical. In both types of *tlacolol*, the tools used are the *coa, tlalache, cazala, azadón,* and machete. (See Fig. 29.) They are homemade [438] except for the iron tips in the hoe and machete, which are bought. Thus, in con-[422] trast to farmers in plow culture, most *tlacololeros* own their own [435] of the *tlalache* and the *coa* are shown in Table 35.

TABLE 35. Cost of *Tlalache* and *Coa*, Tools Used in *Tlacolol*.

Year	Cost in Pesos	
	Tlalache	*Coa*
1926	1.50	1.25
1935	2.25	1.75
1940	3.00	2.25
1944	5.50	3.25

WORK CYCLE AND PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

243 *Preparation of Land:* Work in *tlacolol* begins in January. The trees are cut with an ax, and the bush is cleared with a machete, extremely difficult and time-consuming work. It takes approximately 40 to 50 days for a man to clear enough land for the planting of 12 *cuartillos* of corn. The trees and brush dry out and are burned in April, and the ashes are left to "fertilize" the soil. Burning is generally done in a single day with two or three men working together. If the materials are not all burned, the group will return and work another day. Enclosures of rocks

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a luxury. The prestige associated with horse ownership goes back to the colonial period when only leading men of the village were allowed to ride a horse.[2]

Ownership of horses, mules, or donkeys is on a small scale; most families have only one animal. The largest number of work animals owned by a single family is six horses and four mules.

Hogs are more widely distributed among the villagers. About forty per cent of the families of Tepoztlán own at least one hog, and many own two or three. The smaller outlay of capital and the lower gains involved in the purchase and sale of hogs limits hog-ownership to the poorer families. It is interesting to note that a very small proportion of the families in the barrio of San Miguel own hogs despite the fact that this barrio has a large proportion of poor families. This may be attributed to the fact that the road runs through this barrio, and the passing buses and automobiles have killed off too many of the hogs to make hog-raising profitable or safe.

Most of the animals used for food are slaughtered in the village. There is practically no trade in cattle or hogs outside of the municipio. There is also relatively little buying and selling of cattle and oxen within the village, since most of them are traditionally purchased in the state of Guerrero where prices are lower. Some men make it a practice to go to Guerrero to buy cattle for resale in Tepoztlán at a nice profit, but this is done on a small scale and only intermittently. Several of the better-to-do farmers became prosperous by doing this during the turbulent years after the Revolution when few dared to leave the village.

It is estimated that a team of oxen work on an average of ninety days a year. Since most families do not own their own oxen, the oxen owners do a good deal of custom work. In 1947 an oxen owner charged 16 pesos per day, that is 4 pesos for the driver and 12 pesos for the team. The income from renting a team of oxen for a ninety-day period would therefore be 1,080 pesos, less about 120 pesos for the cost of feed. When oxen are rented by the season, the charge is generally only 200 pesos, but the renter has the obligation of feeding and caring for the animals and assumes all responsibility in case of accident or death. Plow-oxen are also rented in exchange for corn, generally for six *cargas* of corn, worth about 300 pesos in 1947.

Mules and donkeys are considered to yield an even greater income than plow-oxen, for they can be rented for a greater variety of jobs and for longer periods. Mules are used primarily for transporting charcoal, wood, corn, and beans. The rental for two mules was 14 pesos a day in 1947. The income from a team of mules would therefore be close to 500 pesos over a ninety-day period.

Hogs are bought, fattened, and sold by many families, but the profit is kept low because of the local custom of fattening hogs with good corn, which is expensive. A young pig costs about 30 pesos and after a year of fattening can be sold to a butcher for 225 pesos. The cost of food per day runs to about 50 centavos, or 182½

[2] For documents on this point see *Indios*, Vol. 4, Exp. 398.

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pesos per year. Adding to this the cost of the pig, we have an expense of 212½ pesos. If the pig is sold for 225, there is a profit of only 12½ pesos after a year's work.

Raising pigs would seem to be more profitable, but the risk is also greater. A year-old breeder pig costs about 150 pesos, and feed for a year runs to 182½—a total expense of 332½ pesos. An average litter of eight, sold at 30 pesos each, gives an income of 240 pesos, providing there are no losses. This income can be obtained for three or four years in succession and then the pig can be fattened and sold for 250 to 300 pesos.

The price of livestock, like that of most other items, has increased greatly since the turn of the century. The sharpest increase has occurred since 1940. (See Table 40.)

TABLE 40. Price of Work Animals in Pesos, 1901–1944.

Years	Plow Oxen	Mules	Horses	Donkeys
1901–1910	40	60	35	15
1911–1920	35	30	25	15
1921–1925	50	100	40	20
1926–1930	60	125	50	25
1931–1935	65	125	60	25
1936	70	150	70	30
1937	75	170	75	30
1938	80	175	75	30
1939	85	180	80	30
1940	100	180	85	30
1941	110	200	100	35
1942	125	200	125	35
1943	200	200	125	50
June, 1944	400	300	200	75

Milk is sold locally by less than a dozen families. The local market consists of a small but increasing group of schoolteachers and Mexican tourists. Most of the milk produced is converted into cheese and sold in the village. It is estimated that a cow produces an average of two liters of milk daily during a period of seven months a year. At current prices of 45 centavos a liter, this would give an annual income of 159 pesos plus about 50 pesos for the value of the calf.

Cattle owners will often pay the priest to say a Mass for the protection of the cattle, and are expected to contribute generously to religious fiestas. When a cow or ox is sold, it is customary for the seller to use a portion of the money to light a candle to El Señor de Ixcatepec. When there are *jaripeos* and bullfights, the larger operators generally contribute bulls and money for *ponche* and fireworks.

Most cattle owners have an image of San Antonio, the patron saint of cattle, in their homes. Horseshoes are believed to bring good luck and are seen on the walls of many houses, especially in the homes of livestock owners.

To keep cattle from wandering away, it was customary for the owner to cut off hair from the ear of the cow or ox and bury it under the hearth. This was done

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283 Until a few years ago, ropemaking was done only in response to specific orders
434 from individual buyers, and each producer took great pride in his product. In
[477] the last few years, however, some producers have been competing with one another, and profits have been reduced. (See Table 44.)

TABLE 44. Estimated Cost of Production of Rope, 20 Varas Long.

April, 1944	*Pesos*
Cost of 3 lbs. of *ixtle* fiber	3.75
Preparation of fiber	1.00
Cost of twisting	.70
Cost of spinning	1.50
Labor cost in rope twisting	.50
[435] Total production cost	7.45
Sale price of rope	8.00
Profit	.55

Since all the labor is done by members of the family, there would be a daily income of 3.70 pesos plus .55 for profit above cost.

438 *CIRCULATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS*

439 The circulation of goods in Tepoztlán is carried on by means of the local market,
443 stores, itinerant merchants, inter-village trade, the sale and purchase of goods in

283

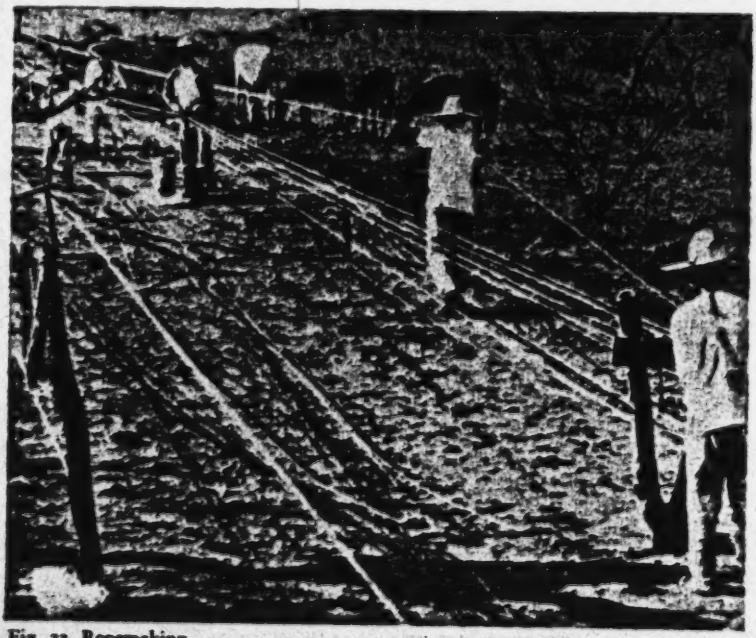

Fig. 33. Ropemaking.

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Cuernavaca and other large towns, and the exchange and barter of goods between families in the village. Changes in the means of communication within the last twenty years have made some of these factors more important than others. In general, the effect of the road to Tepoztlán has been to weaken the local market, to increase the importance of stores and trade relations with Cuernavaca, to decrease the extent of inter-village trade within the municipio, and to abolish completely earlier trade relations with other villages of the region.

The market days in Tepoztlán are Wednesday and Sunday. As in Redfield's time, vendors from the satellite villages and from more distant localities gather in the central plaza where they offer their wares. Merchants from Cuernavaca, Toluca, and Mexico City may be seen occasionally. Some come by foot in the old tradition, others by bus, and others with their own cars.

The old tradition, as reported by Redfield, whereby each of the seven villages of the municipio had its customary place in the market, is still remembered and followed. But it is only on a rare occasion that vendors from all the villages are present on the same market day. During the greater part of the year, vendors from only two or three of the villages come. (See Fig. 34.) By comparison with a market in an Oaxacan town of equal size, the Tepoztecan market is indeed

Fig. 34. Woman selling lime.

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"raquítico," as the Tepoztecans would say. Furthermore, the quality of the local fruits and other goods is poor and, unlike other Mexican villages, little care is given to display. There is also little variety of goods, and it is difficult to predict what will be available from one market day to another. In short, the market at Tepoztlán shows symptoms of decline.

In addition to the market days, there are permanent stores in the plaza. As has been indicated earlier, their number has increased and they have spread to the outlying barrios. The stores sell most of the daily household necessities and have a fairly stable clientele. Most sales are in small quantities because of the Tepoztecan custom of running to the store once or twice a day. But Tepoztecans are going to Cuernavaca more and more, and are making larger purchases; this has been a blow to local tradesmen who cannot compete with the Cuernavaca stores and market.

Itinerant merchants who peddle through the village streets come with a wide variety of goods, such as blankets, *petates*, palm-bottomed chairs, sweets, and clothing. In recent years these merchants have introduced selling on the installment plan, and make collections on their rounds.

Goods are also circulated by barter between families, although this is declining. Corn may be exchanged for eggs or other food. Corn is still used as payment for wages or for the services of *curanderos*, especially when small sums are involved.

Most Tepoztecan produce is sold outside the village, primarily in Cuernavaca. It is estimated that Tepoztecans sell approximately 1,000 *cargas* of corn per year. Many poor people complain that they have to go to Cuernavaca to purchase corn because none is available locally. Other Tepoztecan cash crops, charcoal and *ciruelas*, are also sold outside the village; charcoal goes to Yautepec and Cuernavaca, and *ciruelas* go to Cuernavaca and Mexico City.

Before the Revolution, Tepoztecans' trade relations spread over a wide area ranging from southern Jojutla, Guerrero, Ozumba in the Federal District, Puebla, Xochimilco, and Mexico City. Indigo was sold to Puebla, which, in turn, supplied dried fish. Merchants made frequent trips to Mexico City by foot, and the following account from an informant, aged 67, gives some idea of the role of the merchant and middleman in Tepoztlán before the Revolution.

My father was a farmer, a butcher, and a tradesman. He worked his fields and slaughtered pigs which he sold to the neighboring villages of the municipio, but especially in San Andrés and Gabriel Mariaca. Later he would go to the southern part of the state of Morelos to buy up fruit and send it to Mexico City where he would live for a portion of the year to sell the fruit. He would leave Tepoztlán in April or May. He returned here in early June to plant and remained here in June, July, August, and September. At the end of September he returned to Mexico City until November. After All Saints' Day he would return for the harvest.

My father went to Mexico City on foot, and the trip took all day. We would leave the village about 6:00 A.M., arrive at Xochimilco at 5:00 or 5:30 P.M. The route was as follows: first to San Juan, then to a rancho called Oshokiah, in the mountains; from Oshokiah to

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San Pablo Oxtzapec. Here we stopped to have lunch and then continued to San Salvador, then down to San Andrés Agueyuc, then to San Lorenzo, then to Xochimilco. By 5:30 P.M., we were generally at the place in Xochimilco when the canoes left. If there were no canoes we walked all night. We generally arrived in Mexico City the following morning and took our fruit to the market.

Some inter-village trade still occurs at the time of fiestas and village *ferias*. However, Tepoztecan trading contacts seem to have become limited for the most part to Cuernavaca. Yautepec, at one time the key market for much of Tepoztecan produce, has now faded in comparison with the role of Cuernavaca.

The circulation of goods and money in Tepoztlán is generally small, but it varies considerably with the seasonal cycles. It is lowest during the months of May, June, July, and August, which is a period of scarcity. The most rapid circulation of goods and the greatest volume of money transactions occur after the plum harvest in September and October, and again after the corn and bean harvest in December and January. Money from plums is generally used to buy new clothing for the family.

Perhaps the most important single occasion for spending during the year is at the Carnaval, which comes in February after the harvest. I have estimated that approximately 50,000 pesos are spent by the villagers for the Carnaval. It is an occasion for buying new clothes, but the largest expense is for the elaborate costumes of the Chinelo dancers. A costume in 1947 cost as much as 800 pesos, and there were 45 dancers from the three competing barrios. Of course most of the costumes are used from year to year, but there is always the expense of repairing and improving them. Some people rent the costumes. The food expense is also great; musicians from each of the competing barrios are fed by the leading families in the barrio. In addition, most families entertain on this day.

The tourist trade has brought some income to Tepoztlán, especially to storekeepers, vendors of soft drinks, and the owners of the two tourist houses, but most of the money spent by these Tepoztecans goes to Cuernavaca.

The other important occasions for spending in Tepoztlán are the barrio fiestas, the gifts for *compadres* at baptisms, the expenses of the groom in weddings, and the expenses for the wakes and funerals.

There are a few corn merchants in the village who speculate in corn by buying in small quantities throughout the year to sell at higher prices during June to September. Speculation in corn is apparently an old practice in the village, for as early as 1579 we find complaints of Tepoztecans against price fixing by local politicians. Some of the corn merchants will make loans on the future corn crop and will be paid back in corn at the time of harvest.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

There are no organized credit facilities in Tepoztlán. Although a few hundred Tepoztecans have had *ejido* parcels since 1930, no *ejido* credit has come to the village. It is said that an effort had been made at one time to obtain such credit but

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and bread consumption, indicating that the economic factor is an important one. The following percentages show this correlation:

Economic Group	*Per Cent Who Eat Bread*
I-A and I-B	23.20
I-C	32.30
II	50.82
III-A	41.55
III-B	57.69
Tepoztlán	31.18

The consumption of meat has also risen considerably. In the same period, from 1926 to 1944, the number of butchers increased from three to fifteen. From an analysis of the municipio records which, for purposes of taxation, show the number and kind of animals slaughtered, we can arrive at a fairly accurate quantitative estimate of the increase in meat consumption.[11] Comparing 1931 and 1933 with 1941 and 1943, we find the following:

Animals	*1931 and 1933*	*1941 and 1943*
Hogs	289	640
Oxen	93	277
Cows	29	225
Yearling calves	94	130
Steers	173	264

Assigning approximate meat weights to the above animals, we find a total of 80,035 kilos for 1931 and 1933, as compared with 190,250 kilos for 1941 and 1943. Since practically no meat is sold outside the village, we can conclude that the consumption of meat during those years rose more than 130 per cent, while the population increase was approximately 30 per cent. As in the case of bread, and based chiefly on our observation and data on budgets and diets, the consumption of meat is directly affected by family income and prevailing prices.

We have figures to show the rise in price of corn, beans, sugar, lard, salt, meat, and rice from 1926 to 1944. They are shown in Table 50.

In a period of eighteen years, the price of corn, beans, and meat has risen 400 per cent; lard and salt, 500 per cent; and sugar and rice, 300 per cent. In 1948, the prices were a great deal higher. For example, corn sold for 70 centavos a *cuartillo* in the local market. Unfortunately, we have no comparable data on family income, nor can we show how the rise in price has affected the gross consumption of the basic staples. But we have already noted in the budget studies that poverty tends to limit diet to the staples and to restrict sharply the purchase of new or varied foods.

[11] Many individuals do not report all animals killed, to evade the tax. These figures are, therefore, an underestimate.